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244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled
[252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, curípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán,
[262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaɾitiniš and kuaɾitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

249 *Agave.*—Although agaves (akámba) are planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some
● [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is
[273] shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Paricutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

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guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st and 2d of November.

Tamalito.—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made. The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

Nuríte kamáta.—This is the most common form of atole. It is made as is described above but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white atole." It is made of dough from either white or yellow maize cooked in water with a little thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

252 is drunk throughout the day, even by children
272 (including the *aguardiente*). It is made in
[273] March, April, and May.

Kágwas kamáta.—Fresh or dried nuríte is ground on the metate with three or four chiles of the type known as *cascabel* (káwas guajílyo). This is mixed with maize dough before it is dissolved in water and cooked. A little brown sugar and salt are added during the cooking. This atole is eaten in September with green corn on the cob. It is also eaten in December and January for either breakfast or supper; if the day is very cold, it may be taken during the day, for it is very "heating." For this reason it is also given to mothers for several days after parturition.

Turípiti kamáta.—This is made with maize dough and brown sugar. A quantity of corn husks is toasted until almost black; this is ground and added to the atole while cooking. The resulting atole is almost black and appears to have ashes in it. The taste is agreeable, however. Turípiti is usually eaten with nákatamales, but it is also eaten at any other time of the year, being one of the more popular atoles in Cherán. It is also sold daily at the *puestos* in Uruapan, where it is known as *atole de cascara de cacao*, "atole of chocolate bean husks," although it has not the slightest chocolate in it.

Kamáta urápiri.—This is said to mean atole of maguey (or agave). The unfermented juice of the maguey is used instead of water. The juice is cooked until foam ceases to form on top and it is a little thick. Instead of maize dough, white maize is toasted and ground into flour, then added to the juice. It is made in the period before the rainy season, April, May June.

Srímba kamáta or téri kamáta (*šrimba, "cane," or teri, "sweet"*).—The sweet juice of mature green cornstalks is extracted by grinding the stalks on the metate. The juice is boiled until it no longer forms foam on top, and is a little thick. Green corn is cut from the cob, milled, and added to the liquid and cooked with water added. This atole is eaten only in the period green corn is available.

Iusitini kamáta.—This is a variant of nuríte kamáta, to which salt and three or four red

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252 chiles are added. Everything is passed through
272 a colander before cooking.

Puɬiti kamáta.—This is made as is the one just described, but anis is used as flavoring and ground green corn is used instead of the ordinary maize dough. Nothing else is eaten with this.

Tamaríndo kamáta.—Maize dough and sugar are put through a colander and thoroughly boiled with 5 centavos worth of tamarind or blackberries. A small quantity of leaves of black or red maize is boiled; the liquid is added, giving the atole a blackish color. It is eaten with bread in the dry season.

Čarákata čarápiti.—According to another informant, this is made the same as tamaríndo kamáta, but with ground tamarisk or ground blackberry added. It is said this is the only occasion blackberries are used. March, April, and May, the warm season, is the time for eating this, as it is said to be a "cold" atole. When the atole has cooled and thickened, small portions are sometimes put on the colored maize leaves and allowed to thicken or harden like fruit paste. If not eaten immediately, it may be wrapped in the leaves.

Iɬúkua kámata (milk atole).—Ordinary maize dough atole is made with milk. This is one of the more common atoles. It is eaten with bread.[17]

252 *Tóquera ičusta.*—Uncooked maize tóquera
262 (half way between green and mature maize)
is ground on the metate, mixed with brown
[751] sugar and bicarbonate of soda (to prevent constipation), and fried in fat. This is a type of *gordo.*

Uačakata.—This is red or black maize which
251 has been boiled on the cob and then dried for at
252 least several months. This is one of the forms of maize preservation; the maize may be kept as long as 2 years. When desired, it is soaked for a day and night and then boiled. It is used ground for atole or is boiled with brown sugar.

RICE FOODS

252 *Arroz kamáta, rice atole.*—Well-cooked rice,
262 milk, sugar, a bit of cinnamon, and a little

[17] It is reported that in Zamora and Purepero, both old Mestizo towns, the favorite atole is made of mesquite. The beans are ground on the metate and cooked.

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fer-
[273] mented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast
[757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made
[556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into jojóke, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

272 265 Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

262 A mere list of foods and recipes has little meaning unless quantities are ascertained. Potentially the Cherán inhabitant has an adequate diet, but most of the population probably suffer from some dietary deficiency, either because of poverty or because of improper distribution and preparation of foods. Vitamin deficiencies probably are subacute to acute in many individuals. Qualitative and quantitative data of great accuracy were difficult to secure, but enough were obtained to be of some value as guides to dietary problems. Below are given some diets collected:

262 511 556 One of the poorest families in town, consisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½ liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

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184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (ţiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is *"tepache"*
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[20] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and
252 toast by a fire. This is called *"esquite"* (guaníto). They also carry *"esquite"* from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

[20] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

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511 spent on meat. Families not regarded as poor might spend as little as 60 centavos a day on food for a family of six (two adults and four children). Checked in several ways, although obviously the quantitative data are inadequate, it appears that most prosperous (but not wealthy) families with sufficient land to produce all their own maize may spend less than 1 peso a day. It is estimated by some that this amount also includes the cost of all clothing and some maintenance of buildings but would not include special expenses, such as replacing animals, giving fiestas, holding funerals, etc. Frankly, this seems hard to believe.[25]

An approach to consumption (in terms of peso values), based on such quantitative data as it was possible to collect, indicates a much higher consumption rate for the normal Cherán family. Taking, for convenience, a family of five, the following seems a reasonably close approximation of consumption and expenditure:

	Per day	Per year
Home-produced goods consumed:		
Maize, 2½ liters daily	$0.15	$54.75
Vegetables and fruit	.10	36.50
Firewood	.08	29.20
Total value		$120.45
Goods requiring cash expenditure:		
Expenditures at store and butcher shop	$1.00	$365.00
Man's clothing (a rough estimate of minimum requirements for work clothing plus some "dress" clothing)		27.00
Woman's clothing (one typical woman's outfit of Tarascan type clothing, plus a couple of cotton dresses a year)		60.00
Clothing for 3 small children		15.00
Total cash expenditure a year		467.00
Total value of goods consumed a year		$587.45

In addition to the above ordinary expendi-

[25] In Mestizo Chilchota, Repáss collected the following data: For a family of two adults and four children, 6 to 22 years, food expenditures were said to be 75 centavos to 1 peso daily, mostly for meat, the remainder for beans, lard, pitch pine, chiles, tomatoes, salt, lime, and other things. The maize consumed is grown. Another family of four adults and one child of 5 years spent about a peso a day. Another family of four adults and three children, 8 to 14 years, spent a peso to a peso and a half daily. In all cases the major expenditure was said to be for meat, with beans coming second. All grew their own maize. Unlike those in Cherán, all these families consumed coffee once and sometimes twice a day.

[184]
[272]

saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The principal item in the market is pottery, and it is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

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585 kilos of rice, and a basket of corn or beans. The male relatives of the bride supply one or two loads of wood and also present to the groom agricutural tools if he is a farmer or utensils of his trade if he has some other occupation. The male and female relatives of the groom also dress the bride in a complete new outfit and present her with clothing and household and kitchen equipment. Gifts received by the bride and groom are divided with their respective relatives. The sisters of the groom carry rosaries made of *amole* tubers to indicate that they should wash with this and not with soap. (This statement is ambiguous and needs further investigation; possibly it refers to bathing the bride.)

The church wedding takes place in the early hours of the morning and is followed by a breakfast in the house where the celebration is to be held. Invariably the breakfast consists of bread and chocolate. After breakfast there is a dance, which continues through the day except for intervals in which to eat. The food is *mole* of chicken or turkey, fried rice, beans, and tortillas. After the meal a drink made of [273] pulque and called *charape* is served. If it is ●[272] not the season for pulque, the *charape* is made of a wild plant resembling the maguey and called timbiriče.

After dancing a while following the dinner, the bride is taken to the house of the godparents of the groom, in case she has been stolen, or to her own parents' house, if she has been asked for. The bride spends the night at this house without her husband. Some time during the day the sisters of the groom wash the bride and dress her.

The following day the godparents of the wedding hold a fiesta in their house similar to that on the preceding day but with some additional features. Early in the morning, when the invited guests arrive, they are served breakfast of bread and chocolate made with water. Then there is dancing. At midday a dinner is served, consisting of many of the typical Tarascan foods such as čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and meat), kurúndas (yellow tamales), chayote, and cooked squash (*chilacayote*).

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while the dancing goes on in the house of the godparents of the wedding, the godparents of baptism of